## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY ACDA/NP/NX:N.HOLLINGSWORTH APPROVED BY ACDA/NP/NX:F.BUCHHOLZ NEA/ARP:F.GERLACH (SUBS)

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P 151832Z AUG 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DOHA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MANAMA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT PRIORITY

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (LINE 5 PARA 3 OMITTED ORIGINAL TRANSMISSION AND EXTRA LINE SIX INCLUDED.)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, SA

SUBJECT: NPT ADHERENCE

REF; STATE 165175

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE SUBSTANTIVE PARAS OF REFTEL ORIGINI-ALLY SENT TO JIDDA FOR ACTION AND REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO. QUOTE: FOR AMB WEST FROM ACDA ASST. DIR. VAN DOREN

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1. DURING OUR RECENT MEETING YOU REQUESTED THAT I PROVIDE YOU WITH A SHORT SYNOPSIS OF THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT), A LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE ADHERED TO THE TREATY, A LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE NOT ADHERED TO THE TREATY, AND MY VIEWS ON SAUDI ADHERENCE TO THE NPT.

2. SAUDI ARABIA DID NOT MAKE ANY STATEMENT DURING DIS-

CUSSIONS OF THE NPT AT THE UN IN 1968. IT ABSTAINED ON THE RESOLUTION WELCOMING ADHERENCE TO THE NPT.

- 3. THERE APPEARS TO BE NO QUOTE ARAB UNQUOTE POSITION ON THE NPT. NINE OF THE TWENTY ARAB LEAGUE COUNTRIES ARE FULL PARTIES TO THE TREATY. THESE INCLUDE SYRIA, LEBANON, IRAQ, JORDAN, LIBYA, MOROCCO, SOMALIA, SUDAN, AND TUNISIA. EGYPT, YAR, PDRY, AND KUWAIT HAVE SIGNED BUT NOT RATIFIED THE TREATY.
- 4. THE LAST TIME WE APPROACHED THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT WAS IN DECEMBER 1976. AT THAT TIME, OUR DCM DISCUSSED SAUDI ADHERENCE WITH MOHAMMED MADAN OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. MADAN TOLD US HE DID NOT KNOW THE CURRENT SAUDI POSITION. A FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION WAS HELD IN JANUARY 1977 WITH NAJI MUFTI ALSO OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. HE DID NOT KNOW THE SAUDI POSITION EITHER, BUT STATED HE WOULD PASS OUR COMMENTS ON TO RIYADH. TO DATE, WE APPEAR TO HAVE NO DIRECT INDICATION OF THE CURRENT SAUDI POSITION. IN FEBRUARY 1978, IN REPLY TO A REQUEST FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF SAUDI ADHERENCE, EMBASSY JIDDA INDICATED THAT SAUDI ADHERENCE DEPENDED ON ISRAEL'S ADHERENCE.
- 5. I FEEL IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF NPT ADHERENCE WITH THE SAUDIS FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS. SAUDI ARABIA IS ALREADY EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITY OF PURCHASING CONFIDENTIAL.

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A RESEARCH REACTOR AND ENRICHED URANIUM FUEL FROM GENERAL ATOMIC AND WE PRESUME THEY WILL BE INTERESTED IN PURCHASING OTHER FORMS OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY FROM THE US. THE LACK OF NPT ADHERENCE WOULD BE A COMPLICATING FACTOR, MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO NEGOTIATE AND APPROVE AN AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION (WHICH WOULD FACILITATE US NUCLEAR EXPORTS); FOR THE CONGRESS TO APPROVE SUCH AN AGREEMENT; AND FOR THE NRC TO LICENSE ANY SUBSEQUENT EXPORTS. THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION ACT OF 1978 IMPOSES A NUMBER OF CONDITIONS ON ANY SUCH AGREEMENT. TWO OF THESE CONDITIONS, IAEA SAFEGUARDS ON ALL EXISTING NUCLEAR FACILITIES AND RESTRICTING NUCLEAR EXPORTS TO PEACEFUL USES, ARE THE TWO MAIN OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES PARTY TO THE TREATY.

6. IN ADDITION, THE CONGRESS HAS AT TIMES MADE NPT ADHERENCE A FACTOR IN CONSIDERING OTHER ISSUES. FOR INSTANCE, IN APPROVING THE 1975 US-SPANISH BASE AGREEMENT THE SENATE PASSED A RESOLUTION INDICATING THAT AS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE US AND SPAIN INCREASED, IT WOULD BE EXPECTED THAT SPAIN WOULD ADHERE TO THE NPT. SAUDI ADHERENCE TO THE NPT AT THIS TIME WOULD THEREFORE REMOVE

A POSSIBLE OBSTACLE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF US RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE.

7. THIRDLY, THE POSITION OF FIVE PERSIAN GULF STATES--KUWAIT, QATAR, BAHRAIN, OMAN, AND THE UAE--APPEARS DEPEN-DENT ON THE SAUDI POSITION. IF THE SAUDIS ADHERE, THOSE

FIVE STATES MIGHT BE MORE INCLINED TO ADHERE. THE SAME MAY BE TRUE FOR A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, SUCH AS THE YEMENI ARAB REPUBLIC.

8. FINALLY, PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MADE NON-PROLIFERATION A MAJOR ISSUE IN HIS ADMINISTRATION. SAUDI ADHERENCE WOULD THEREFORE BE VIEWED AS AN IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENT CONFIDENTIAL.

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OF HIS ADMINISTRATION--AS WELL AS AN INDICATION OF OUR MUTUAL COOPERATIVE EFFORTS AT PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL STABILITY.

- 9. I BELIEVE THAT EMBASSY JIDDA'S ASSESSMENT THAT SAUDI ADHERENCE IS DEPENDENT ON ISRAEL'S ADHERENCE IS LIKELY TO PROVE ACCURATE. I WOULD THEREFORE SUGGEST AS A FALLBACK POSITION THAT WE PRESS THE SAUDIS FOR A STATEMENT THAT WHILE NOT ADHERING TO THE NPT AT THIS TIME, THEY WOULD FAVOR OTHER NATIONS' ADHERENCE. IN THIS WAY, WE MAY REMOVE ANY LINGERING HESITANCY ON THE PART OF THE PERSIAN GULF STATES TO ADHERE TO THE TREATY AND ADD TO ISRAEL'S INCENTIVE TO ULTIMATELY ADHERE TO THE TREATY. AS PRECEDENT FOR SUCH A POSITION WE COULD POINT TO FRANCE WHO, WHILE NOT ADHERING ITSELF, HAS NOT OPPOSED ADHERENCE BY ITS FORMER COLONIES AND HAS SUPPORTED US EFFORTS IN SEEKING SOUTH AFRICAN ADHERENCE.
- 10. IN DISCUSSING THIS SUBJECT WITH THE SAUDIS I WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:
- (A) THE US WOULD STRONGLY WELCOME SAUDI ADHERENCE TO THE NPT;
- (B) IF THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT DOES NOT FEEL THAT AT THIS TIME IT CAN ADHERE TO THE NPT, WE BELIEVE THAT A PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT IT FAVORS ADHERENCE BY OTHER STATES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE GOAL OF UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE FOR THIS IMPORTANT TREATY;
- (C) WE HAVE RECEIVED INDICATIONS THAT A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES MAY ADHERE TO THE NPT DEPENDING ON THE SAUDI POSITION. SHOULD THESE COUNTRIES BECOME PARTY TO THE NPT CONFIDENTIAL

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AS A RESULT OF THE SAUDI STATEMENT, THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO IMPLEMENTING THE NON-PROLIFERATION GOALS OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE CONGRESS:

- (D) SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION WOULD BE WELL SERVED BY THE REMAINING GULF STATES BECOMING NPT PARTIES. THUS, ENCOURAGING OTHER COUNTRIES TO ADHERE TO THE NPT COULD DIRECTLY SERVE SAUDI INTERESTS;
- (E) IN ADDITION, IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL IF THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE POINT (D) PRIVATELY WITH THOSE STATES IN THE REGION WITH WHOM IT HAS INFLUENCE; AND
- (F) TAKING THE STEP INDICATED IN POINT (B) AT THIS TIME WOULD NOT INVOLVE NEW OBLIGATIONS ON THE PART OF THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT, BUT WOULD BRING SAUDI POLICY INTO LINE WITH THAT OF EGYPT.
- 11. NEA AGREES WITH MY SUGGESTIONS AND HAS APPROVED THIS CABLE. VANCE

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